

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03

INR-11 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 /153 W
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P R 251310Z SEP 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 433

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0258

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT TO NATO DEPARTMENT, TURKISH
FOREIGN MINISTRY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESENTATION AT
SEPTEMBER 24 PLENARY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE SEPTEMBER 24 PLENARY MEETING
OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, STATEMENTS WERE DELIVERED BY
THE CZECHOSLOVAK REP (KLEIN), CANADIAN REP GRANDE (TEXT
MBFR VIENNA 255), AND ITALIAN REP CAGIATI (TEXT MBFR
VIENNA 265). IN HIS STATEMENT, KLEIN REFERRED TO
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THE NEGOTIATION SUBJECT MATTER AS "THE URGENT PROBLEM

OF OUR TIME" BUT NOTED THAT THE TALKS SO FAR HAD NOT
CROSSED" THE BOUNDARY WHICH WOULD PERMIT US TO MOVE ON
TO WORKING OUT CONCRETE SOLUTIONS". KLEIN SAID THE
EASTERN PROPOSALS CONFORMED TO TO THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE
PRELIMINARY TALKS IN ALL RESPECTS, AND PARTICULARLY TO
THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES AND
TO THE GOAL "THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS SHOULD SET ABOUT THE
REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ON AN EQUAL
BASIS." MOREOVER, SAID KLEIN, THE EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT "TAKES
INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE NECESSARY ASPECTS" AND "IMPOSES
EQUAL OBLIGATIONS ON ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS." KLEIN
NOTED THAT ALL EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ARE READY TO
REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET -- "ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
QUESTIONS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS" -- AND ARGUED THAT THEY
HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT MUTUALITY"; KLEIN ADDED: "IT IS
NOW UP TO THE WEST." IN CONTRAST, CONTINUED KLEIN, THE
WESTERN OVERALL APPROACH IS UNFAIR, SEEKS UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE,
REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE THE REAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY
SITUATION AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES AND IS BASED
ON AN ARTIFICALLY FORMULATED CONCEPT. KLEIN CONCLUDED
THAT SUCH AN APPROACH "CANNOT SERVE AS THE CONSTRUCTIVE
BASIS FOR OUR NEGOTIATIONS."

2. COMMENT. KLEIN'S RELATIVELY BRIEF STATEMENT WAS
BOTH GENERAL AND MODERATE IN CHARACTER. IT RESTED ON
AND THUS PRESERVED THE BASIC EASTERN POSITIONS BUT
AVOIDED SPECIFICS; NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE ALLIED
"ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA OR OTHER WESTERN LINKAGE
PROPOSALS. BEFORE THE PLENARY COMMENCED, SEVERAL
EASTERN REPS MANIFESTED EVIDENT INTEREST TO ALLIES REPS
REGARDING THE WESTERN POSITION. AT THE CLOSE OF THE
PLENARY, THE CHAIRMAN (SOVIET REP KHLESTOV) ANNOUNCED
THAT THE NEXT PLENARY WOULD BE HELD NEXT WEEK,
ON A DATE TO BE AGREED.(PROBABLY OCTOBER 3). THE TEXT OF THE
CZECHOSLOVAK STATEMENT READS AS FOLLOWS: END SUMMARY.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

MR CHAIRMAN,
COMRADES AND GENTLEMEN
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1. TODAY WE OPEN THE FOURTH ROUND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON
THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL
EUROPE. IN ONE MONTH WE WILL HAVE COMPLETED A YEAR FROM
THE DAY WHEN WE GATHERED IN VIENNA TO WORK ON A SOLUTION OF
THE URGENT PROBLEM OF OUR TIME CONCERNING WHICH ALL OUR
COUNTRIES ASSUMED AN OBLIGATION IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF
THE PREPARATORY TALKS.

2. IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK ALREADY DONE WE WERE ABLE TO FAMILIARIZE OURSELVES IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL WITH THE APPROACH AND INTERESTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WITH THEIR CONCEPTIONS OF THE PATHS WHICH ARE OFFERED FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BASIC UNDERSTANDING CONTAINED IN THE ABOVE-MENTIONED COMMUNIQUE. BUT, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT WE HAVE ALL NOTED THE BUSINESSLIKE CHARACTER OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, THE GOOD ATMOSPHERE AT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE QUITE INTENSIVE CONTACTS AMONG THE DELEGATIONS, WE HAVE NOT YET, UNFORTUNATELY, SUCCEEDED IN STEPPING ACROSS THE BOUNDARY WHICH WOULD PERMIT US TO MOVE ON TO WORKING OUT CONCRETE SOLUTIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

3. SUCH A BOUNDARY IS INDISPUTABLY REPRESENTED BY THE SEARCH FOR A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS WHICH WOULD BE FAIR IN ALL RESPECTS, WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND WHICH WOULD PERMIT NO ONE TO GAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0258

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4. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN PROPOSING FROM THE VERY
START OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, IN ACCORD WITH THE GOAL AGREED
DURING THE PRELIMINARY TALKS, THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS SHOULD SET
ABOUT THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ON AN EQUAL
BASIS AND THEREBY ACHIEVE A REAL DIMINUTION OF THE
CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS IN THE REGION OF CENTRAL EUROPE. WE
HAVE EMPHASIZED MORE THAN ONCE THAT THE APPROACH OF THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO THE QUESTION OF REDUCTION, PRECISELY
FORMULATED IN THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT, IS FAIR, SINCE IT TAKES
INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE NECESSARY ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM, IS
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BASED STRICTLY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF ALL
PARTIES AND IMPOSES EQUAL OBLIGATIONS ON ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE AGAIN WISH TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE
FACT THAT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE NOT DEMANDING ANY
OBLIGATIONS FROM THE WESTERN STATES OTHER THAN THOSE WHICH THEY
ARE READY TO ASSUME THEMSELVES.

5. THE GDR, POLAND, THE USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AS DIRECT
PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE ALREADY OFFICIALLY
DECLARED MORE THAN ONCE THEIR READINESS TO INCLUDE THEIR ARMED
FORCES IN THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION FROM THE VERY BEGINNING. IT
IS COMPLETELY UNDERSTANDABLE THAT IN THIS - ONE OF THE MOST
IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS - THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO
EXPECT MUTUALITY ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN STATES. IN OTHER
WORDS - IT IS NOW UP TO THE WEST.

6. OUR APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTION, WHICH ENTIRELY
CONFORMS WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS,
OPENS THE WAY TO A SEARCH FOR THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS
WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ELABORATION OF SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS.
SUCH AN APPROACH EXCLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF UNEQUAL RESULTS,
WHICH COULD LEAD TO UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES AND THUS
DISTURB THE EXISTING STABILITY AND EQUILIBRIUM OF THE MILITARY
FORCES AT THE POINT OF CONTACT OF THE TWO MILITARY GROUPINGS.
THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AND THE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS OF ARMED
FORCES AND ARMAMENTS PROPOSED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES BEAR
WITNESS TO THEIR SERIOUS ATTITUDE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO
THEIR INTEREST IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS ON THE AGENDA ON A JUST
BASIS.

7. SUCH FUNDAMENTAL CRITERIA ARE, HOWEVER, ABSENT FROM THE CONCEPT AND THE PROPOSALS MADE IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. THEIR REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE REAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITUATION, AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES WHICH HAS COME INTO BEING IN THE AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE, HAS LED THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO AN ARTIFICIALLY FORMULATED CONCEPT WHICH IS FAR FROM THE ACTUAL STATE OF AFFAIRS AND FROM THE TASK WHICH WE ARE CALLED UPON TO RESOLVE. THE DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY REPEATEDLY SHOWN THAT SUCH AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTION, WHICH IS DIRECTED AT OBTAINING UNILATERAL
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ADVANTAGES FOR THE NATO COUNTRIES AND WHICH IGNORES THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY AND OF EQUAL OBLIGATIONS FOR THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, CANNOT SERVE AS A CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS FOR OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

8. THE FAILINGS OF THE WESTERN PLAN FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, WHICH RESULT FROM A ONE-SIDED APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM IN QUESTION, DIRECTED AT OBTAINING MILITARY ADVANTAGES TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE SECURITY OF THE SOCIALIST STATES, STAND OUT IN STILL SHARPER RELIEF AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE COMPREHENSIVE AND JUST CONCEPT OF REDUCTION CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. IF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES UNAMBIGUOUSLY DECLARE THEIR INTEREST IN SECURING MILITARY DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE - AND THEY PROVE THIS BY ALL THEIR ACTIONS IN VIENNA FROM THE VERY BEGINNING - THIS DOES NOT IN ANY WAY MEAN THAT THEY ARE READY TO AGREE TO A SOLUTION WHICH COULD HARM THEIR SECURITY.

COMRADE CHAIRMAN,

9. THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IS WELL KNOWN TO ALL WHO ARE PARTICIPATING IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD ROUND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WE ALL DECLARED THAT WE MUST MAKE THE NECESSARY STEP FORWARD AND MOVE ON TO WORKING OUT SPECIFIC DECISIONS WHICH WOULD ALLOW A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS TO BE REACHED. WE THINK THAT TODAY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE WORK WE HAVE DONE IN THE PAST MONTHS, WE MUST NOT SIMPLY REPEAT THESE WISHES, BUT MUST DO EVERYTHING ACTUALLY TO OBTAIN TANGIBLE RESULTS IN THE SPIRIT OF A SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH.

10. IT IS IN THIS VERY DIRECTION THAT THE DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE READY TO MOVE. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT IF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES TAKING

PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS OBSERVED IT IS POSSIBLE TO REACH
AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE ACTUAL REDUCTION OF
FORCES TO BEGIN IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. SUCH A RESULT WOULD
INDISPUTABLY BE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROCESS OF
THE BROADENING AND DEEPENING OF CURRENT TENDENCIES TOWARDS
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THE RELAXATION OF TENSION IN OUR CONTINENT. END TEXT.RESOR

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